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BRIEF OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AS *AMICI CURIAE* IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS (Case No. 1:20-cv-3127-SAB)

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BRIEF OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AS *AMICI CURIAE* IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS (Case No. 1:20-cv-3127-SAB) - ii

AMICI CURIAE IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS (Case No. 1:20-cv-3127-SAB) - iii

#### INTEREST OF AMICI CURIAE<sup>1</sup>

Amici are members of the U.S. Senate, many of whom served when key components of the nation's laws governing the U.S. Postal Service (USPS) were drafted, debated, and passed. Amici have a substantial interest in ensuring that this Court recognizes that when USPS and the Postmaster General failed to follow the procedures set forth in 39 U.S.C. § 3661—which requires that the Postal Regulatory Commission and members of the public have the opportunity to weigh in before USPS implements certain changes—they not only violated the plain text of § 3661 but also acted contrary to Congress's plan in enacting that legislation.

A full listing of amici appears in the Appendix.

#### **INTRODUCTION**

In June and July 2020, Postmaster General Louis DeJoy instituted several major changes that have had a significant effect on the nature of postal services nationwide. According to Plaintiffs in this lawsuit and others, USPS has, under DeJoy's instruction, been "(i) eliminating overtime; (ii) instructing carriers to leave mail behind; (iii) decommissioning sorting machines; (iv) removing mailboxes; (v)

<sup>1</sup> Amici state that no counsel for a party authored this brief in whole or in part, and no person other than amici or their counsel made a monetary contribution to the brief's preparation or submission.

reducing operating hours; and (vi) changing how election mail is classified and
charged." ECF No. 1 at 17. These changes have allegedly "produced serious delays
across the country despite the fact that letter mail volume had decreased during the
[COVID-19] pandemic." Compl. 3, New York v. Trump, No. 1:20-cv-2340 (D.D.C.
Aug. 25, 2020); see Compl. 2, NAACP v. U.S. Postal Serv., No. 1:20-cv-2295
(D.D.C. Aug. 20, 2020) ("[T]he Postal Service has made significant changes that
have resulted in unreliable service and widespread delays."). Particularly troubling,
these changes "will hinder the delivery of mail ballots and ballot applications" across
the country, Compl. 61, New York, No. 1:20-cv-2340, just as many states are
"expect[ing] a record-breaking volume of mail-in voting for the November 2020
election," Compl. 16, NAACP, No. 1:20-cv-2295.

USPS has imposed these changes in violation of federal laws that Congress passed to protect USPS from partisan influence and ensure public accountability, and this Court should hold that the challenged changes are unlawful.

#### **ARGUMENT**

I. Reflecting the Importance of the Postal System's Role, Congress Has Required the Postal Service to Follow Certain Procedures Whenever It Seeks to Change the Nature of Postal Services in a Way That Will Generally Affect Service on a Substantially Nationwide Basis.

The U.S. Constitution vests Congress with the power to "establish Post Offices and post Roads," U.S. Const. art. 1, § 8, and Congress enacted the first substantive

federal postal law, Postal Service Act of 1792, ch. 7, 1 Stat. 232, just a few years after the Constitution's ratification. The development of the postal system "spurred a communications revolution that was as profound in its consequences for American public life as the subsequent revolutions . . . associated with the telegraph, the telephone, and the computer." Richard R. John, *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse*, at vii (1995).

Reflecting the important role the postal system has long played in our country, Congress has sought to ensure that the system is properly managed, free from partisan influence, and accountable to the public. In 1967, President Johnson assembled the Kappel Commission to investigate whether to reorganize the postal system in light of the nation's growing economy and population, *see* Report of the President's Commission on Postal Organization, *Towards Postal Excellence* (1968) at v, and Congress itself devoted significant resources to determine how best to address the situation. Indeed, as the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service remarked, "rarely has any subject received as much careful and intensive consideration by a committee of the Congress." H.R. Rep. No. 91-1104, at 3651 (1970).

Based on these careful deliberations, Congress passed the Postal Reorganization Act of 1970 (PRA), 39 U.S.C. § 101 et seq. That Act provided, among other things, that "[w]hen the Postal Service determines that there should be

a change in the nature of postal services which will generally affect service on a nationwide or substantially nationwide basis, it shall submit a proposal, within a reasonable time prior to the effective date of such proposal, to the Postal Rate Commission requesting an advisory opinion on the change." Postal Reorganization Act of 1970, Pub. L. No. 91-375, 84 Stat. 719, 764 (Aug. 12, 1970) (codified at 39 U.S.C. § 3661(b)).

Congress similarly charged the Postal Rate Commission "with the duty of making recommendations to the Governors of the Postal Service with respect to rate, fee and classification matters." *Govs. of USPS*, 654 F.2d at 110 (citing 39 U.S.C. §§ 3601, 3622–24). "In considering Postal Service requests for recommended decisions on rates, fees, and classifications . . . [,] the Commission [was] required to accord to the Postal Service, users of the mails, and an officer of the Commission representing the public, an opportunity for a hearing," and then provide a written recommendation to USPS. *Id*.

In 2006, Congress enacted the Postal Accountability and Enhancement Act (PAEA), Pub. L. No. 109-435, 120 Stat. 3198 (Dec. 20, 2006) (codified at 39 U.S.C. § 3600 *et seq.*). As amended by the PAEA, the PRA requires USPS to follow the same procedures for nationwide changes in the nature of postal services, except that USPS must now seek a written opinion from the Postal *Regulatory* Commission, rather than the Postal Rate Commission. 39 U.S.C. § 3661(b).

# II. Congress Adopted the Procedures Under the Postal Reorganization Act to Protect the Postal Service from Partisan Influence.

According to the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, which drafted the PRA, Congress's plan in making these changes was to "convert the Post Office Department into an independent establishment in the executive branch of the government freed from direct political pressures." H.R. Rep. No. 91-1104, *supra*, at 3650. And the Supreme Court has recognized that the Act "was adopted to increase the efficiency of the Postal Service and reduce political influences on its operations." *U.S. Postal Serv. v. Flamingo Indus. (USA) Ltd.*, 540 U.S. 736, 740 (2004).

The House Committee drafted the PRA based on the findings of the Kappel Commission, H.R. Rep. No. 91-1104, *supra*, at 3654, which noted, among other things, that "[b]ecause postal patronage was once a source of party power, the Post Office is still burdened with an anachronistic postmaster selection system," *Towards Postal Excellence*, *supra*, at 47. The Commission explained that "[b]ecause he presides over what was once a major policy arm of Government, the Postmaster General is still a member of the President's Cabinet." *Id*. According to the Commission, "[p]ostmaster patronage suggests to many that partisan politics plays a part in the operation of a post office. Warranted or not, the suspicion undermines public confidence and employee morale." *Id*. at 42.

Thus, Congress passed the PRA to "[i]nsulate" management of USPS "from

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partisan politics . . . by having the Postmaster General responsible to the [Postal Regulatory Commission, which represents the public interest only, for his conduct of the affairs of the Postal Service." H.R. Rep. No. 91-1104, supra, at 3660-61. The House Committee Report explained that the Postal Regulatory Commission in particular "provides an invaluable buffer between the management of the Postal Service and the possible influence of partisan politics." Id. at 3660. Indeed, the Report emphasized that "[i]f the American public is to have the Postal Service that it expects and deserves, the post office must be taken out of politics and politics out of the post office. Nineteenth Century customs of political patronage have no place in a late 20th Century Postal System." *Id.* at 3654; see Pres. Richard Nixon, Remarks upon Signing the Postal Reorganization Act (Aug. 12, 1970) ("There is no Republican way or Democratic way to deliver the mail. There is only the right way and that is what this occasion is all about.").

In describing the portion of the Act establishing "procedures for changes in postal services," the Committee Report emphasized that "[t]he Postal Service is—first, last and always—a public service." H.R. Rep. No. 91-1104, *supra*, at 3668. The Report stated that under the Act, USPS must "seek out the needs and desires of its present and potential customers—the American public," and that the Act "provides significant assurance that the postal management will in fact be responsive to the people to a greater degree than has heretofore been known." *Id.* The Report described

how the Act "contains specific provisions requiring justification and review of changes in service," and that those provisions compel USPS, when seeking to make those changes in service, to "follow[] procedures comparable to those for proposed rate changes." *Id*.

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The Report concluded that those procedures requiring notice and a public hearing "represent significant innovations that should materially enhance the responsiveness of the Postal Service to the American public." *Id.*; *see Buchanan v. U.S. Postal Serv.*, 508 F.2d 259, 263 n.6 (5th Cir. 1975) ("[T]he procedures mandated by 3661 are sufficiently elaborate to amount to a significant impediment in the path of the decision making process of the Postal Service.").

### III. By Failing to Request an Opinion from the Postal Regulatory Commission Before Making Its Recent Changes, the Postal Service Has Violated Federal Law.

USPS's recent changes are unlawful because they were made without complying with these important requirements that Congress put in place to ensure proper management of the nation's mail delivery. For example, without seeking input on the matter, USPS "prohibited postal workers from making the extra trips necessary to ensure that no mail is left sitting in postal facilities at the end of the day." Compl. 23, *New York*, No. 1:20-cv-2340. Likewise, USPS "prohibited network, plant, and delivery workers from making late trips—i.e., from embarking on their trip any later than the scheduled time." *Id.* In addition, "671 machines used by the

Postal Service to organize and sort letters or other pieces of mail have been or will be removed from dozens of cities across America[,] . . . effectively decommission[ing] 10 percent of the Postal Service's sorting machines." ECF No. 1 at 18-19. These changes and others to USPS's central operations have allegedly "resulted in unreliable service and widespread delays," Compl. 2, *NAACP*, No. 1:20-cv-2295, and "there have been widespread reports of mail piling up in regional distribution centers and post offices around the country, and of customers experiencing substantial delays and disruptions in mail service," *id.* at 19.

If these changes continue to cause widespread delays, they could threaten the reliability of mail-in voting, Compl. 61, *New York*, No. 1:20-cv-2340—an option that at least some Americans have used to cast their ballots since the American Revolution, *see* Alex Seitz-Wald, *How Do You Know Voting by Mail Works? The U.S. Military's Done It Since the Civil War*, NBC News (Apr. 19, 2020), https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2020-election/how-do-you-know-voting-mailworks-u-s-military-n1186926—with enormous implications for our country and the integrity of our democracy.

These changes thus have already affected and will continue to "generally affect service on a nationwide or substantially nationwide basis," 39 U.S.C. § 3661(b). Yet USPS made them without so much as notifying the Postal Regulatory Commission—much less having received a written opinion from the Commission

following the completion of a public hearing as required.

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The government may argue that such changes are not sufficiently significant to require public comment. That is plainly wrong. Because Congress was seeking to ensure that there would be public accountability with regard to management of USPS, it required that these procedures be followed with respect to *any* changes that "generally affect service on a nationwide or substantially nationwide basis," as these changes certainly do.

Significantly, Congress required USPS to follow comparable procedures for even seemingly minor changes in postal rates or mailing classifications. See H.R. Rep. No. 91-1104, supra, at 3668 (under the PRA, "[f]ollowing procedures comparable to those for proposed rate changes, operating management would submit proposals relating to changes in service to the rate board with public notice and opportunity for public comment" (emphasis added)); see, e.g., United Parcel Serv., Inc. v. U.S. Postal Serv., 604 F.2d 1370, 1380 (3d Cir. 1979). Indeed, the D.C. Circuit has held that USPS needed to submit a proposed 5-cent increase for the price of stamps to the Postal Regulatory Commission before it could lawfully implement that change, recognizing that "Congress directed the Commission to serve as more than just a rubber stamp of the Postal Service's proposed rate increases." Carlson v. Postal Regulatory Comm'n, 938 F.3d 337, 351 (D.C. Cir. 2019); see id. ("The PAEA" establishes a robust rulemaking process for the Commission, subjecting rate-change

proposals to the deliberative and participatory process of notice-and-comment rulemaking under the APA."). Likewise, the Third Circuit has emphasized that "any proposal which would effect a change in mail classification or a rate . . . must be submitted to the Rate Commission, *no matter how experimental, temporary, or limited in scope the change." U.S. Postal Serv.*, 604 F.2d at 1380 (emphasis added).

To be sure, the Fifth Circuit has suggested that § 3661 applies only when USPS seeks to make "changes of significance" that will have a "meaningful impact" on postal services. *See Buchanan*, 508 F.2d at 262–63. That notion is contrary to § 3661's plain text, but in any event, the postal changes at issue in this case satisfy even the Fifth Circuit's heightened standard: They are significant, and they have had, and will continue to have, a meaningful impact on postal services on a substantially nationwide basis. As discussed above, USPS's changes have *already* had a major impact on the delivery of the mail with consequences for people throughout the country. Moreover, the changes allegedly "will hinder the delivery of mail ballots and ballot applications" for the November election. Compl. 61, *New York*, No. 1:20-cv-2340. Changes of this magnitude plainly cannot be made without input from the public and without following the requirements set out in federal law.

#### CONCLUSION

For the foregoing reasons, this Court should grant Plaintiffs' motion for a preliminary injunction.

1	Dated: September 11, 2020.
2	Respectfully submitted,
3	CALFO EAKES LLP
4	By/s/Emily Dodds Powell
5	Emily Dodds Powell, WSBA# 49351 Anna F. Cavnar, WSBA# 54413
6	1301 Second Avenue, Suite 2800 Seattle, WA 98101
	Phone: (206) 407-2210
7	Fax: (206) 407-2224
	Email: emilyp@calfoeakes.com
8	annac@calfoeakes.com
9	CONSTITUTIONAL ACCOUNTABILITY
	CENTER
10	
	By /s/ Brianne J. Gorod
11	Elizabeth B. Wydra (DC Bar No. 483298)
	(pro hac vice pending)
12	Brianne J. Gorod (DC Bar No. 982075)
	(pro hac vice pending)
13	Dayna J. Zolle (DC Bar No. 1672633)  (pro hac vice pending)
14	1200 18th Street NW, Suite 501
	Washington, D.C. 20036
15	Phone: (202) 296-6889
	Email: elizabeth@theusconstitution.org
16	<u>brianne@theusconstitution.org</u>
17	dayna@theusconstitution.org
'	Counsel for Amici Curiae Members of Congress
18	Counsel for Annel Curice Members of Congress
19	
20	

#### **APPENDIX** 1 2 LIST OF AMICI Blumenthal, Richard 3 Senator of Connecticut 4 Baldwin, Tammy Senator of Wisconsin 5 Bennet, Michael F. 6 Senator of Colorado 7 Booker, Cory A. Senator of New Jersey 8 Brown, Sherrod 9 Senator of Ohio 10 Cardin, Benjamin L. Senator of Maryland 11 Carper, Thomas R. 12 Senator of Delaware 13 Cortez Masto, Catherine Senator of Nevada 14 Duckworth, Tammy 15 Senator of Illinois 16 Durbin, Richard J. Senator of Illinois 17 Gillibrand, Kirsten 18 Senator of New York 19 Hirono, Mazie K. Senator of Hawaii 20

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#### LIST OF AMICI – cont'd 1 Klobuchar, Amy 2 Senator of Minnesota 3 Leahy, Patrick Senator of Vermont 4 5 Markey, Edward J. Senator of Massachusetts 6 Merkley, Jeffrey A. Senator of Oregon 7 Reed, Jack 8 Senator of Rhode Island 9 Rosen, Jacky Senator of Nevada 10 11 Sanders, Bernard Senator of Vermont 12 Shaheen, Jeanne Senator of New Hampshire 13 Smith, Tina 14 Senator of Minnesota 15 Van Hollen, Chris Senator of Maryland 16 Warren, Elizabeth 17 Senator of Massachusetts 18 Whitehouse, Sheldon Senator of Rhode Island 19 20 Wyden, Ron Senator of Oregon

**APPENDIX** 

(Case No. 1:20-cv-3127-SAB) - 2A

## **CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE**

I hereby certify that on September 11, 2020, the foregoing document was filed with the Clerk of the Court, using the CM/ECF system, causing it to be served on all counsel of record.

DATED: September 11, 2020.

6 <u>/s/ Erica Knerr</u> Erica Knerr

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE (Case No. 1:20-cv-3127-SAB) - 1